

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 6401

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: NOVEMBER 18 SPC MEETING: ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS ON DETENTE

REF: A) STATE 249735; B) MOSCOW 171986

SUMMARY: IN NOVEMBER 18 SPC, U.S. SHARED WITH ALLIES EMBASSY MOSCOW'S ASSESSMENT OF SOVIET DETENTE POSITION. FRENCH AMPLIFIED FURTHER ON PARIS' PERCEPTION OF DETENTE, BUT STRESSED SIMILARITIES RATHER THAN DIFFERENCES WITH OTHER ALLIES' VIEWS. CHAIRMAN'S REPORT EXPECTED AFTERNOON OF NOVEMBER 19 PRIOR TO PRELIMINARY DETENTE DISCUSSION IN COUNCIL NOVEMBER 20. END SUMMARY

1. U.S. REP (PEREZ) OPENED SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS ON DETENTE AT NOVEMBER 18 SPC MEETING WITH STATEMENT DRAWN FROM EXCELLENT EMBASSY MOSCOW ASSESSMENT CONTAINED REF B. ALLIED REPS THANKED U.S. FOR INTERESTING PRESENTATION. SPC CHAIRMAN THOUGHT MOSCOW ASSESSMENT MADE USEFUL CONTRIBUTION TO FORTHCOMING NAC DISCUSSION.

2. REFERRING TO GERMAN QUESTION ON ALLIES' WILLINGNESS TO USE BERLIN AS DETENTE YARDSTICK (PARA 3 OF PAPER TRANSMITTED USNATO 6241), FRG REP (BOSS) SAID BONN WISHED TO MAKE THE SAME POINT MADE IN PARAGRAPH 6 OF THE OTTAWA COMMUNIQUE IN WHICH MINISTERS LINKED PROGRESS IN EUROPEAN DETENTE TO STRICT OBSERVANCE AND CONFIDENTIAL

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FULL APPLICATION OF THE BERLIN AGREEMENT.

3. FRENCH REP (CARRAUD), ON PERSONAL BASIS, AGAIN REHEARSED FRENCH DETENTE PERCEPTIONS AS DIFFERING FROM THOSE OF SUPER-

POWERS ALONG LINES PARA 8, USNATO 6317. FRENCH REP REMINDED THAT EACH ALLY DID NOT SEE DETENTE IN THE SAME WAY NOT BECAUSE THEIR BASIC JUDGMENTS FAVORING DETENTE DIFFER BUT BECAUSE THEY ARE IN DIFFERENT GEOGRAPHICAL POSITIONS, HAVE DIFFERENT MILITARY AND STRATEGIC REQUIREMENTS, ETC. FRANCE FULLY AGREED WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER THAT DETENTE MUST BE EXPANDED BEYOND A MERE RELAXATION OF MILITARY TENSIONS TO SHAPE A NEW INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIP. THE SMALLER POWERS, HOWEVER, MUST APPROACH MILITARY RELATIONS IN A DIFFERENT WAY THAN THE SUPERPOWERS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE U.S. AND SOVIETS POSSESS STRATEGIC WEAPONS WHICH CAN ONLY BE DEALT WITH IN BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS. FRANCE IS, OF COURSE, INTERESTED IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS -- PARTICULARLY IN THEIR TREATMENT OF FORWARD BASED SYSTEMS -- AND IS VERY SATISFIED BOTH WITH ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT AND WITH THE POSITION THE U.S. HAS TAKEN IN THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, HOWEVER, SALT IS ESSENTIALLY A U.S.-SOVIET ISSUE. MOREOVER, THE ALLIES DO NOT SHARE FULLY AND TO THE SAME DEGREE IN THE STRATEGIC STABILITY WHICH CHARACTERIZES THE U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP.

4. FRANCE OPTED OUT OF MBFR BECAUSE THESE NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT LEAD TO A SOVIET VOICE IN WESTERN SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE FRENCH ACTIVELY PURSUED DETENTE IN THE CULTURAL, HUMANITARIAN AND ECONOMIC AREAS. FRANCE HAD ACCORDINGLY PARTICIPATED IN THE CSCE NEGOTIATIONS NOTWITHSTANDING HER TRADITIONAL PREFERENCE FOR BILATERAL EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS. THIS APPROACH HAD BEEN REWARDED WITH A MORE INDEPENDENT ROLE FOR THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS. FRENCH REP NOTED THAT ORIGINAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE NINE ON NEGOTIATIONS IN BASKET III HAD NOW BEEN HARMONIZED, AND THAT THE ALLIANCE POSITION ON ISSUES IN BASKETS I AND II REMAINED FULLY COORDINATED.

5. FRANCE FULLY AGREED WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER'S VIEW THAT BOTH EAST AND WEST MUST SEE BENEFITS FLOWING FROM DETENTE, CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT NEW EAST-WEST RELATIONS MUST NOT MEAN EITHER THE DETERIORATION OF ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIPS OR A CHALLENGE TO THE WESTERN DEFENSE POSTURE, AND THAT REAL LIMITS EXISTED ON THE AMOUNT OF LIBERALIZATION WHICH DETENTE SHOULD BE EXPECTED TO BRING TO EASTERN SOCIETIES. THUS ON THE BASIC ISSUES, THERE WERE NO MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FRANCE AND HER ALLIES BUT ONLY NUANCES IN POSITIONS AND APPROACHES. LIKE ITS ALLIES, FRANCE HOPED TO MOVE FROM CONFRONTATION TO PEACEFUL COOPERATION IN EUROPE BUT COULD NOT BE CERTAIN AT PRESENT WHERE DETENTE WOULD LEAD. QUESTIONS REMAIN ABOUT SOVIET INTENTIONS AND OBJECTIVES. FRANCE ALSO WONDERED WHETHER THE PRO-DETENTE ASPIRATIONS OF THE SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN PEOPLES WILL EVER BE REFLECTED IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THEIR COUNTRIES. THESE WERE THE QUESTIONS AND ISSUES,

WHICH SHOULD FORM THE "BACKBONE" OF  
DISCUSSIONS AT THE MINISTERIAL.

6. FOLLOWING BRIEF EXCHANGE IN WHICH OTHERS DISCUSSED  
FRENCH REP'S STATEMENT ALONG FAMILIAR LINES, SPC CHAIRMAN  
KASTL SAID THAT HE WOULD ISSUE THE CHAIRMAN'S REPORT ON  
DETENTE DURING THE AFTERNOON OF NOVEMBER 19.  
REPORT WILL, PER USNATO 6359, BE BASIS OF PRELIMINARY  
NAC DISCUSSION ON DETENTE ON NOVEMBER 20.  
MCAULIFFE

CONFIDENTIAL

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